THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED BIWEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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VOL. XX NO. 1 MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1980

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U.S. PREPARES FOR WAR

Black soldiers were on the frontlines in Vietnam (top photo, left), World War I (above) and World War II (left). As the U.S. government prepares to revive the draft as a step towards war in the Middle East, millions of young Blacks, who were denied jobs, housing and other rights after fighting for America, have declared that they will not fight again for a country which still considers them "niggers."

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CASE KEPT SECRET FOR ONE YEAR

"ONE LESS NIGGER"

(Chico, Calif.) - James T. McCarter, 20, Marvin Dean Noor, 19, and Dani Lee Shope, 23, were drunk and eager to use Noor's 30-30 Winchester rifle on the night of January 13, 1979.

The three Whites had set out to poach a deer on the outskirts of this northern California community. When they couldn't find a deer to kill, they looked for a cow. When they couldn't find a cow, they turned to human prey.

Shope, Noor's girlfriend and the divorced mother of three, described the murder of Jimmy Lee Campbell, a 22-year-old deaf Black handyman, in a handwritten statement to police after her arrest:

"As we were going along Dean (Noor) saw a colored man walking or hitchhiking (along Park Avenue in Chico) and Dean said, 'There's a nigger, let's get him, Jim.'

"Dean handed Jim the gun and said, 'There you go, you can do it.' Jim took the gun, laid it across the passenger side and shot him (Campbell). I saw him grab his shoulder and run toward the railroad tracks. We left as soon as Jim shot."

Jimmy Lee Campbell had attended a special school for the handicapped here. An outstanding athlete, he had won the broad jump in the state's Special Olympics. He worked in a sheltered workshop and did yard chores for neighbors.

Jimmy Lee had just left the Calskate roller rink and was walking home when McCarter shot him.

Noor told police the next day that McCarter had laughed and boasted of the killing as "just one less nigger."

The three then drove to nearby Oroville, where according to Shope's statement, it was Noor's turn to kill.

Driving into Oroville, she said, "we saw three colored males standing beside a fairly new pickup. . .(Noor) stuck the gun out the window to fire but the gun jammed."

The three Black men dived to the ground, and the car continued on some 60 feet where a Black woman, Michelle King, 24, was walking.

"Hey, you know what?" Noor yelled out the window. When King turned, he fired. She screamed and fell to the ground unharmed but pretending to be hit. She said she felt the heat of the gun's blast next to her right cheek.

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MARVIN DEAN NOOR (left), JAMES T. McCARTER and DANI LEE SHOPE couldn't find a deer to poach so they killed a 22-year-old deaf Black man.

Editorial

Facing The '80's

As we read the newspapers and watch television, it seems as though we have taken a step back in time. The President and his generals tell us that the country must build up its defenses to counter growing Soviet military strength overseas.

On television we see young people respond angrily to talk of reviving peacetime military registration. The massive anti-draft demonstrations that have sprung up around the nation in the month since Jimmy Carter's State of the Union speech are chillingly similar to the anti-Vietnam war rallies of a decade ago.

As one student put it, "I was just a little kid during Vietnam, and I though I'd missed out on the peace movement, but it looks like our government is going to give us another chance."

The '80's can be another chance for all the people of America to put aside their political, racial, cultural, religious and sexual differences and unite to make our society a human and just one for all. Our problems are not new, but unless we come up with new solutions, the '80's may be a decade of lost opportunities.

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People's Perspective

WHAT TO DO WHEN AN EARTHQUAKE HITS

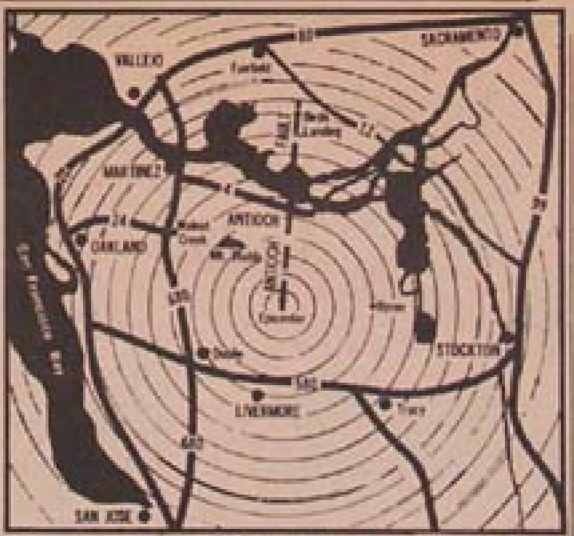
(Livermore, Calif.) - In the aftermath of two damaging earthquakes in late January in northern California, Bruce Bolt, of the Berkeley Seismographic Station is predicting a devastating quake in the San Francisco Bay Area within the next 10 years.

What type of destruction will be wrought by this upcoming quake? Will it turn into a nuclear disaster? And even more important, how well prepared are we for the imminent danger that lies ahead?

A quake which measured 5.5 on the Richter scale struck the Eastbay area on January 24. It was followed by a second major quake on January 27, which measured 5.8. There were at least nine aftershocks of 4.0 or larger.

The January quake's epicenter was 12 miles north of the University of California Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, which designs most of the nation's atomic weapons.

That the lab may be a focal point for quakes along two active faults—the Antioch and Greenville Faults—has been the focus of numerous demonstrations by anti-nuclear protesters. According to anti-nuke activist Andy Baldwin, the defense installation contains an inventory of radioactive poisons big enough to spread cancer to almost the whole human race.



The first quake caused an estimated $10 million in damage at the Livermore Lab, severely damaging the $200 million Shiva Laser (a fusion energy and nuclear bomb research machine) and other dangerous equipment, injured 42 workers, forced evacuation of 7,100 lab employees and caused a leak of radioactive tritium, a biologically dangerous fuel for hydrogen bombs.

Following is a list of precautionary measures to take before during and after an earthquake:

•Before the quake, keep handy a portable radio, a flashlight with extra batteries, a first-aid kit, a few gallons of water, canned or dried food, and wrenches to turn off gas and water lines.

•During the tremor, get under a sturdy desk or table, or under a doorway. Stay clear of windows, bookcases and anything that might break or fall. Outdoors, avoid buildings and power lines and, if driving, stay inside the car.

•After the earthquake, shut off the main gas valve, electrical power, water main, and avoid using matches and cigarette lighters. Stay off the telephone and use the portable radio for instructions.

B.P.P. LAWYERS WIN FEES

(Chicago, Ill.) - Lawyers for the families of slain Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark have been awarded $101,342 in fees by the Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The attorneys had sought more than one million dollars for work in the appeal of their $47.7 million civil suit against Chicago, Cook County and U.S. law enforcement officials. The appeals court awarded $75,150 to G. Flint Taylor and Jeffrey Haas, who represent Clark's family, and $26,192 to James B. Montgomery for work on behalf of Hampton's family. Payment is to be made by Chicago, Cook County and the federal government.

BLACK PRISONERS INCREASE

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The number of minority prisoners in California has increased to 60 per cent of the prison population during the last decade. A state committee is holding meetings throughout the state and will issue a report on its findings this spring. Mario Obledo, secretary of the state Health and Welfare Agency and chairman of the Task Force on Incarcerated Minorities, admitted that in 1968 minority prisoners accounted for only 30 per cent of all inmates.

BY HUEY P. NEWTON

A CITIZEN'S PEACE FORCE: A PROPOSAL

For millions of young Americans, the possibility of dying in a faraway country fighting a senseless war has once again become a reality. Jimmy Carter, pushed by the large corporations who control America, has asked Congress to reinstate peacetime military registration.

For those affected—men and women (there is still doubt about women) between the ages of 18 and 26—registering is as good as being drafted.

The American economy thrives in times of war. Severe economic and social problems at home were the major factor that led to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The same problems exist today on a worsening scale—whirlwind inflation, skyrocketing unemployment and deepening poverty among Black and poor working class people.

The government's solution—war in the Middle East.

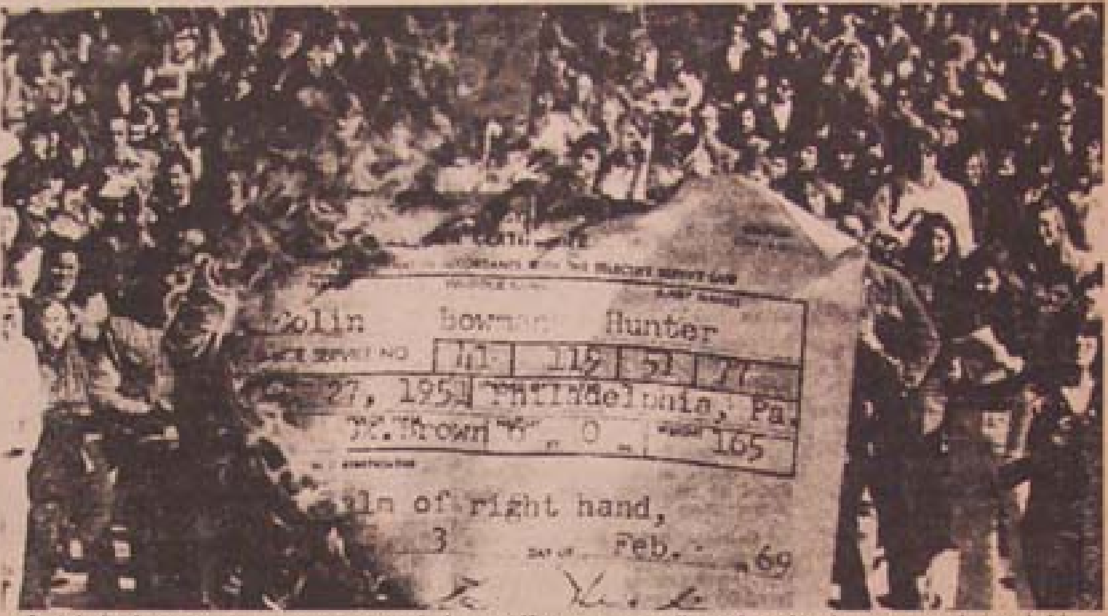
Following the divisive Vietnam war, the Pentagon ended the draft and focused on building an all-volunteer army. But the all-volunteer army has backfired. During the 1970's the racism that denied jobs to young Blacks forced them to turn to the military services as the "employer of last resort."

Today, Blacks comprise 22 per cent of all enlisted people in the army, 14 per cent in the air force and 17 per cent in the marines. The Pentagon cannot afford to rely on such a large Black force to go to war. Thus, Carter's call for bringing back the draft.

In a series of articles first published in THE BLACK PANTHER in early 1973, Huey P. Newton proposed the creation of a Citizen's Peace Force as an alternative to the armed services and local police forces.

"The Peace Force would respond to the variety of emergencies that constitute every day life in the poverty community. It could more economically handle the work now assigned to agencies like VISTA, and handle the problems with an incalcuably better chance of success than the present . . .bureaucratic apparatus known as the War on Poverty. . ." Huey stated.

Below, we present Part 1 of "A Citizen's Peace Force—A Proposal," which is as relevant today as it was seven years ago.



Anti-draft demonstrations, reminiscent of the anti-Vietnam war rallies of a decade ago, are being held across the country to protest the Carter administration's plan to reinstitute peacetime military registration. Above, students at Stanford University in California burn a huge copy of a 1960's draft card.

PART 1

When the sky rocketing demands for human rights and the technology of the super-industrial state (U.S.A.) clash head on, there is a bloody social pile-up. We then begin to hear politicians and Blue Ribbon commissions tell us that there is a "communications problem" between law enforcement and the oppressed community.

The flash-point has been reached. While American citizens fall under almost total electronic surveillance, panicky, poorly trained police shoot to kill in the ghetto as control slips visably away from traditional urban institutions. The options are quickly narrowing:

The cities must start somewhere: A transitional Citizen's Peace Force featuring the concepts of conscription, community criteria and civilian control.

The working model for the new peace force resembles, in many ways, a citizen's militia.

Conscription would mean drafting people from councilmanic districts to serve two year terms in their own community. Young people from age 15 could serve part time, and no upward age or sex limit need be arbitrarily imposed. Basic training for draftees would reach out to ongoing schooling in various skills for those who were not returning to either jobs or school. Promotion and re-enlistment would both be possible, as well as a kind of G.I. Bill of Rights following service.

Besides skilled training, a heavy accent would be put on social, paralegal, para-medical, civic techniques for urban problem solving. The gargantuan hardware budget would be slashed, with resources in the areas of social and cultural study given priority.

The criteria for the new Peace Force would differ sharply from the traditional military index.

The "conscientious objector" personality profile, for instance, would rate a draftee as a potentially excellent candidate for service. Motivation in general would be screened with the emphasis on selecting service oriented rather than control oriented personality types. The testing would resemble, in some ways, the most meaningful aspects of the juror selection process in cases involving the Bill of Rights, race or so-called political issues.

Key requirements would be residence in, and working knowledge of, a given community. In the poverty areas these attibutes would count much more than formal education or skills. Social awareness, not physical prowess, would be selected for, and a wide age and sex ratio would create a peace structure that shared some of the most creative elements of the extended family.

Civilian Control is the predicate of the new Peace Plan. As the inner city or urban core falls by default to the American national minorities, so the city councils and city halls begin to represent poor and oppressed populations. In Oakland, California, for example, we find Black, Latino, Asian, poor White, as well as, of course, middle and upper class White enclaves. Each of these ethnic and economic populations either has or soon will have political representation at the local level. This representation will be responsible for the local "draft boards" that will be needed.

Ordinary citizens from their home community will sit on boards to draft people from that same community who will — after screening and training — serve for two years in that same home community. This would apply in ghetto, barrio, hollow or suburb. Not "citizen review," but citizen control. Not occupying mercenary armies, but community Peace Officers in a face to face relationship with their own.

A very different model of law enforcement is now leaving the drafting board. The "wired nation" or "electronic battle field" is one cog in the wheel of the new National Police Force, and the thorough-going politicalization of the police working at the neighborhood level is the other.

Super-industrial technology — computers, communication, weapons — generates an escalating momentum toward standardization and nationalization. Within four years every American man, woman and child will have a secret dossier of their life locked in the new national data banks.

Since Watts, domestic counter-insurgency has become a "growth industry." Forty thousand fast-growing police agencies, with 400,000 plus men and women, are becoming the chief customers for many defense industry contractors who are feeling the pinch of the reduced Pentagon budgets of the losing wars in Asia.

More ghetto rebellions, or at least a rising fear of them, are necessary to keep the "crime protection industry" growing. Forces may now be in motion that will be difficult to reverse. At the beginning of the Cold War in the '40's the aerospace companies only produced airplanes, but by the '50's they had used their money and power to increase the anti-Russian hysteria and aggravate

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GOVT. SOUGHT DESTRUCTION OF BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER

B.P.P. TO APPEAL DISMISSAL OF $100 MILLION LAWSUIT AGAINST F.B.I.

"The Black Panther Party newspaper is one of the most effective propoganda operations of the BPP.

"Distribution of this newspaper is increasing at a regular rate thereby influencing a greater number of individuals in the United States along the black extremist lines.

"Each recipient submit by 6/5/70 proposed counterintelligence measures which will hinder the vicious propoganda being spread by the BPP. . ."

—May 15, 1970, memorandum from FBI headquarters to Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, Newark, New Haven, New York, San Diego and San Francisco field offices

(Washington, D.C.) - In August, 1967, the FBI initiated a counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) designed to disrupt and "neutralize" organizations characterized by the Bureau as "Black Nationalist Hate Groups."

Targets of this nationwide program included such organizations as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Nation of Islam (now the World Community of Islam in the West).

The Black Panther Party was not included in the original "Black Nationalist" targets, but by September, 1968, the BPP had become an object of concern to the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover, then head of the Bureau, claimed the Party was "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

"By July, 1969, the Black Panthers had become the primary focus of the (COINTELPRO) program, and was ultimately the target of 233 of the total 295 authorized 'Black Nationalist' COINTELPRO actions," according to the April, 1976, report issued by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, headed by Senator Frank Church.

On December 1, 1976, the Black Panther Party and eight of its supporters filed a $100 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, Internal Revenue Service and other government agencies, charging them with ". . . the most extreme and violent actions employed by high government officials against citizens of this nation. . ."

Twenty-five present and past high-ranking government officials were named in the suit, which charged federal police agencies with:

•Assassinating several Party members, including Alprentice Carter, John Huggins, Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, George Jackson, John Savage, Sylvester Bell, Alex Rackley and others;

•Conspiring to discredit and kill Huey P. Newton, founder and president of the Party;

•Destroying the Party's right to freedom of the press by sabotaging its newspaper, THE BLACK PANTHER;

•Eliminating financial support given to the Party by harassing its supporters;

•Illegally securing over three million dollars in bails for the false arrests of Party members; and

•Conspiring "to carry out a massive program of psychological warfare against the Party through a mass media propaganda campaign. . ."

On January 25, federal District Court Judge John Lewis Smith dismissed the lawsuit, claiming the Party had failed to provide the government with information needed to prepare its defense.

Part of the information sought by the government, which constitutes a minor part of the lawsuit, concerns the names of Party officers and members whose identities have never been disclosed.

The other information concerns answers the government is seeking from Huey Newton regarding criminal charges still pending against him—information Huey is not required to provide until the charges have been tried or dismissed.

The Party will file an appeal by February 25. Bruce Terris, BPP attorney in the lawsuit, said the Party was justified in refusing to answer the government's questions.

"The Party was subjected to un-Constitutional actions by the government in the most extreme fashion," Terris said. "This release of information would allow the government to do that again. I don't think the issue of civil liberties and protection of extremely unpopular people is ever over.

"It's a flagrant denial of justice not to allow the case to be tried," he said.

One of the first BPP financial supporters targeted by COINTELPRO was actress Jean Seberg. Last September, Seberg committed suicide in France. She had repeatedly tried to kill herself since 1970 following a COINTELPRO scheme which led to false rumors that the White actress, who was married, had become pregnant by a leading Party member.

According to an April 27, 1970, FBI "Black Nationalist" COINTELPRO memorandum issued by the Los Angeles FBI office:

"Jean Seberg has been a financial supporter of the BPP and should be neutralized. . . Bureau permission is requested to publicize the pregnancy of

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BLACK PANTHER newspapers lie soaked after arson fire was put out at San Francisco distribution office in 1970.

B.P.P. LEADER DISCUSSES STRATEGY FOR 1980'S

Huey Appeals 1978 False Gun Conviction Charge

(San Francisco, Calif.) - With the start of a new decade, Black and poor people across America are talking about how to best deal with the problems of racism, poverty and injustice in the 1980's.

"In the '80's people will respond to the old problems as they did in the '60's—in different ways—but with the same kind of vigor. More pressure will come down from the government as people start to reject the corruption of the American system."

This is Huey Newton's prediction for the political movement of Black and poor people in the next 10 years. Huey talked with reporters last month following a court hearing in which he appealed his 1978 conviction of being an ex-felon in possession of a weapon.

Asked whether he thought he would ever be able to live his life in peace, Huey said, "No, I don't think so. As long as there is oppression in this society, I will continue to speak out against it, and right-wing elements in the country will harass me."

From October, 1967, to September, 1979, Huey was falsely tried for murder five times. On September 29, 1978, he was convicted on two counts of being an ex-felon in possession of a weapon. The charges arose from the Preston Callins's case, in which Huey was accused of beating up Callins, a Black tailor.

Huey was acquitted of the assault charges but due to an earlier court ruling, was convicted of being an ex-felon in possession of weapons. Alameda County Superior Court Judge Joseph Karesh sentenced him to two and one-half years in state prison. Huey's imprisonment was postponed pending the outcome of his appeal, and he was released on $50,000 bail from Alameda County Jail on November 2, 1978.

On January 22, 1980, division three of the California Court of Appeal heard oral arguments in Huey's appeal. Attorney Tom Steel, representing Huey, argued that the Black Panther Party president was not an ex-felon at the time of his August 16, 1974, arrest for assaulting Callins.

Steel pointed out that on November 2, 1971, Alameda County Superior Court Judge Lyle Cook ruled that Huey's 1964 felony assault conviction was un-Constitutional. Charles Garry, Huey's attorney at the time, advised the BPP leader that he was no longer an ex-felon and

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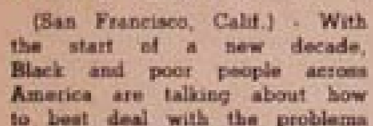


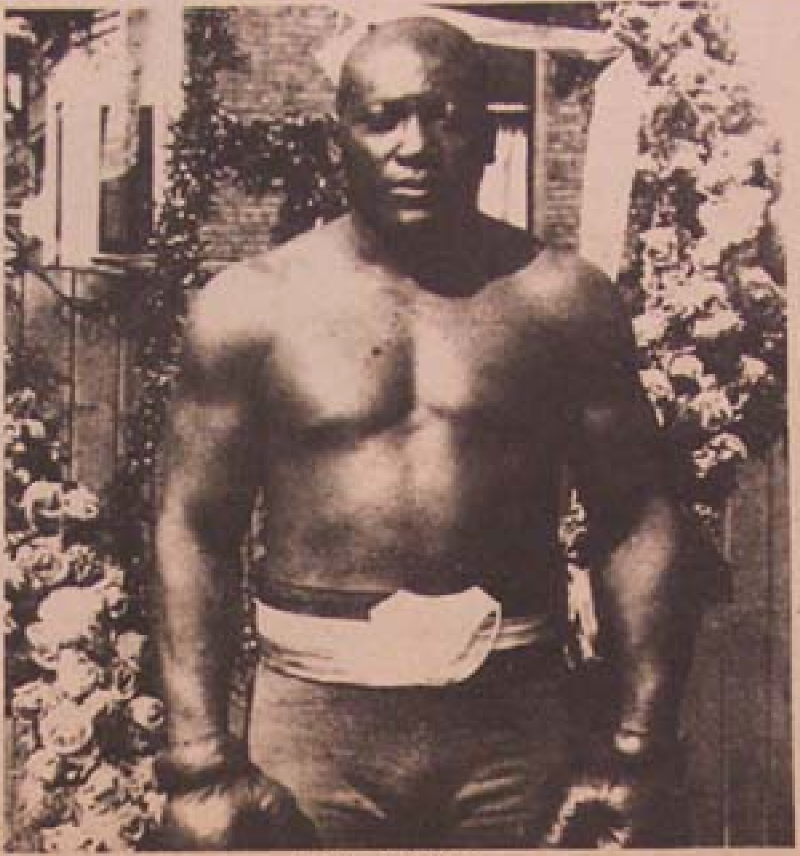
HUEY P. NEWTON talks with press after court hearing.

BOXER JACK JOHNSON FIRST TARGET

F.B.I. HARASSMENT OF BLACK AMERICANS: 1910-1980

In 1908, Jack Johnson became the first Black heavyweight boxing champion of the world. Two years later, he became the first Black American to be hounded and harassed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Since its founding in 1908, the FBI has unsuccessfully attempted to destroy Black and poor people's efforts to achieve freedom and justice in America. Below is Part 1 in a series of articles written by historian and journalist C.R. Gibbs which trace the history of FBI involvement with Black Americans. The series is reprinted from the Bilalian News.



JACK JOHNSON

PART 1

Contrary to popular opinion, the FBI was not founded by J. Edgar Hoover. The "Bureau," as it is referred to by its employees, was established in 1908 by Attorney-General Charles J. Bonaparte, a grandnephew of Napoleon.

Initially, the Bureau's criminal cases were of a somewhat makeshift nature. Then as now, under the supervision of the Justice Department, the fledgling detective organization investigated crimes committed on Indian and other government reservations.

It prepared some District of Columbia cases involving fraudulent securities and examined crimes connected with the crossing of state boundaries.

To facilitate the handling of crimes in the last named category, Congress enacted several laws designed to help the Bureau function more effectively. These laws forbade the interstate shipment of stolen goods, obscene books, liquor into "dry" states, contraceptives and, interestingly enough, the laws also banned the interstate shipment of prizefight films. Why would Congress attempt to control the flow of professional boxing films?

In 1908, Black boxer Jack Johnson defeated Tommy Burns for the heavyweight championship of the world. It was, indeed, a sign of the future that the Bureau would go after films of the Black champion. Two years later, in 1910, the Bureau began to pursue the man himself. In 1910, when the Bureau was two years old, Congress passed the Mann Act.

The enforcement of this act was considered the Bureau's first big assignment. Allegedly, the purpose of the Mann Act was the prevention of vice. The act outlawed the transportation of women across state lines for immoral purposes.

The language of the law was decidedly vague and the prosecution of its offenders appears to have been loosened or tightened according to the importance of the offender.

Reportedly, Johnson had induced a former prostitute to forsake the "life" and enter into a personal noncommercial affiliation with him. Their travels took them across a state border without benefit of clergy; marriage did not occur until later.

Johnson was arrested by the federal authorities under the terms of the new statute and sentenced to prison. His subsequent actions as a result of this are history.

Another result of the enforcement of the Mann Act was the development, by the Bureau, of closer ties with the local police and the construction of a dossier collection. From points throughout the nation many citizens began to write to the Bureau to give the agents data about the travels of strangers, acquaintances, relatives or even themselves.

As late as 1940 Hoover (who had become the Bureau's director in 1924) was still misdirect-

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Treasury Secretary, Congressmen Charged In Bribery Scandal

(Washington, D.C.) - One unnamed congressman was photographed nervously trying to stuff $50,000 in his pockets. The congressman reportedly turned to the FBI undercover agents, posing as bribe-paying aides to a wealthy Arab, and asked "whether anybody could see any of the money" sticking out of his clothes.

The scene was one of dozens that were recorded on videotape by the FBI in its recently concluded, two-year investigation of massive political corruption in the U.S. Congress. Over 20 top public officials and 10 lawyers and businessmen have been implicated.

Details of the probe surfaced in early February. Congressman John Jenrette of South Carolina is accused of accepting $50,000, passed through an associate, to sponsor a private immigration bill. Jenrette is reportedly heard on a tape boasting that he had larceny in his heart and that he would take every dollar he could get his hands on.

Meanwhile, in a separate case, the Carter administration has once again been tainted with charges of corruption. Treasury Secretary G. William Miller has refused to resign, although he admits that the Textron Corporation made "questionable and improper payments" to foreign officials while he was chairman of the conglomerate.

Early in Carter's administration, the President's closest friend and adviser, budget director Bert Lance, was forced to resign following disclosure of illegal banking practices by the wealthy Georgia banker.

"I do not intend to resign," Miller said. "There has been no communication from the President suggesting such a thing."

The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) said in a complaint against Textron in early February that the company made $5.4 million in payments to foreign government officials to help secure contracts to sell military equipment, much of it while Miller was chairman.

The complaint also said that Miller knew that Textron had sent $600.00 between 1971 and 1978 to wine and dine Pentagon officials in violation of Defense Department regulations, and that he made "erroneous and misleading" statements to the company's stockholders in denying that Textron made illegal or improper payments abroad.

The largest single payment for

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Huey Protests Attack on Black Vets

(Oakland, Calif.) - Recent attacks on the community service programs of the Black Veterans Association (BVA) here have been sharply criticized by HUEY P. NEWTON, shown above (right) at a press conference with BVA President BROADUS PARKER.

In recent weeks, Oakland police have twice entered BVA headquarters allegedly searching for a cache of weapons. The Association operates a federally funded job training program, and government forces have threatened to take away the program's funding unless Parker, an outspoken supporter of the Black Panther Party, resigns.

DISABLED VETS BATTLE "AGENT ORANGE"

(Washington, D.C.) - In 1966, when Michael Nuzzi was a 19-year-old Marine in Vietnam, he and his friends used to get into spray fights, playfully dousing each other from head to foot with the oily, amber-colored chemical defoliant they had been assigned to spray on jungle undergrowth suspected of concealing guerrillas.

The young Marines were unaware that the defoliant, known as Agent Orange, contained a highly toxic substance called dioxin, which has been linked to cancer and birth defects—a substance which, more than 10 years later, would become the center of a growing and increasingly successful campaign to force the federal government and private industry to face up to the consequences of exposing thousands of persons to the damaging chemical, the *Los Angeles Times* reports.

"I knew they were spraying," says Vietnam vet Jim Janko. "I never did actually see them, but we were going into areas where just everything was dead. It would be very eerie. An entire forest would just be dead. There would be some sticks where the leaves had shrivelled and fallen off the trees.'

"It was just a deathly landscape," Janko continued. "Everything was dead, stark and barren, and no green. We would end up sleeping in these areas, end up drinking water from streams, from bomb craters, from wherever we could find water."

Vietnam war veterans in late January called government efforts to help them "too little, too late," especially in connection with health problems caused by exposure to the chemical defoliant.

Attending a U.S. Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee hearing in downtown Los Angeles, more than 100 veterans—some who testified from wheelchairs—made emotional appeals for help and medical treatment that "doesn't exist (now)."

President Carter was attacked for recently vetoing a bill that would have mandated an independent scientific study of Agent Orange.

Veterans' groups are skeptical about a planned V.A. research effort, predicting that it will be a "whitewash."

A new bill that has passed the Senate may persuade Carter to change his position on the independent study he vetoed. The bill is awaiting action in the House.

Veterans who testified insisted that there is sufficient evidence to link the chemical to skin rashes, cancer and birth defects in children of Vietnam veterans.

Frank McCarthy, a spokesman for Agent Orange Victims International, said that Dow Chemical and other defoliant manufacturers recently sued by veterans "lied to the Air Force and the Army" about its claimed nontoxicity.

"We will never, ever be able to tell who was exposed," said McCarthy, because necessary records were left behind in Vietnam.

"We believe all the Vietnam veterans were exposed. We need no further proof. . .The proof is in our people. . .The evidence is overwhelming."

McCarthy said the Vietnamese population and Australian veterans are the only people showing up with similar symptoms and problems.

"We have no place else to turn. There is no place left to go," he added. "We want them (Agent Orange manufacturers) to own up to what they did."

For six years, beginning in 1965, the U.S. military dumped an estimated 10.6 million gallons of Agent Orange onto the jungles of Vietnam. The use of the herbicide was allegedly stopped in February, 1971, nearly two years after the first reports circulated that dioxin, a byproduct present in 2,4,5T, one of the components of Agent Orange, was capable of causing birth defects.

Anti-Vietnam war rally in early 1970's. Today, Vietnam veterans exposed to the dangerous chemical Agent Orange are demanding compensation for their physical disabilities.

In March, 1979, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) suspended most domestic uses of 2,4,5T after studies showed high rates of miscarriages among Oregon women living in an area where the chemical had been used in the timber industry. The EPA is now engaged in administrative proceedings to determine whether the ban should be continued.

The General Accounting Office—the watchdog agency of Congress—reported in November, 1979, that thousands of American servicemen were deployed in areas of South Vietnam that had been sprayed with Agent Orange, despite earlier statements by the Defense Department that the areas had been cleared of U.S. troops.

Today, Vietnam veterans blame exposure of Agent Orange for a staggering array of medical problems, including cancer, birth defects in their children, skin diseases, miscarriages and stillbirths, impotence, liver abnormalities, memory loss and personality changes.

"We were given handouts that said Agent Orange was absolutely nontoxic to human beings and animal life," says Richard King, 41, of Abilene, Texas. King is a career Air Force officer who was 28 when he served in Vietnam as a "ranch hand," the slang name for pilots who flew spraying missions.

"During demonstration missions for the press, I saw other pilots stick their fingers into canisters of the stuff and then lick them to show how safe it was. Everyone believed it," he says.

King blames his exposure to Agent Orange for his own medical problems. He has suffered from patchy, dry skin, ringing in the ears, "dry eyes," liver problems and cancer of the prostate, for which he underwent surgery last year.

"I am incontinent. I wear diapers and I am impotent," he said. "Maybe the evidence so far is only circumstantial, but they told me I was too young to get prostate cancer—that it's an old man's cancer."

The Veterans Administration (V.A.) has been the primary target of a lawsuit and pressure from veterans' groups for its steadfast refusal to approve claims for benefits filed by more than 800 Vietnam veterans who attribute current medical problems to Agent Orange exposure. Current V.A. rules do not recognize the men's medical problems as "service-connected disabilities" and thus they are not entitled to benefits, officials say.

Much depends on the outcome of litigation now pending on behalf of veterans across the country. The National Veterans Law Center of American University has gone into U.S. District Court here to challenge the procedures used by the V.A. to establish its rules on Agent Orange claims.

A number of other suits have been filed against the five chemical companies that manufactured the defoliant—Dow Chemical Co.; Hercules, Inc.; Monsanto Co.; Diamond Shamrock Corp; and North American Phillips Corp.

These cases have been consolidated in the federal district court for the eastern district of New York in Westbury, Long Island. The plaintiffs in these suits are asking for creation of a trust fund to be administered by the court and financed by the chemical companies—a trust fund that could amount to as much as $40 billion.

In these latter suits, the plaintiffs won an important victory. They won the right to sue in federal court, which will be helpful to their case.

Peltier Sentenced, Indian School Burned

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Despite courtroom testimony that prison authorities plotted his death, American Indian Movement (AIM) activist LEONARD PELTIER was sentenced to seven years in prison here for his July 20 escape from Lompoc federal prison. Peltier is already serving two life sentences on false charges of "aiding and abetting" in the deaths of two FBI agents during a 1975 raid of Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

Meanwhile, an AIM facility in Oakland was recently destroyed by fire. Emergency housing is needed for 20 people, along with donations of food and financial support. For more information, call (415)452-1235.

YOUR HEALTH

How To Cope With Stress

Almost everybody thinks he or she knows what stress is. But relatively few of us really do understand it, recognize what it does within our bodies and know how to control it, live with it and make it work for us.

What is stress? Stress is the body's physical, mental and chemical reactions to circumstances that frighten, excite, confuse, endanger or irritate us.

The cause of stress—the stressor, or stressful event—can be good or bad. It can be a car wheeling around the corner toward you; changing to a better job; the birth of a long-wanted baby; too much noise where you work; or a host of other things.

Some of our stress reactions are so subdued that we are not even aware of them. Others show themselves clearly in sweaty palms, loss of appetite, heavy breathing, a racing heart.

Others are totally unknown to us and not even thought of as stress—such as the body's reaction to invading disease germs.

It is impossible to go through life without stress, and we wouldn't want to. Stress is what prepares us to handle things we are unfamiliar with, or things that appear to threaten us.

Handled well, stress is a friend that strengthens us for the next encounter. Handled poorly, or allowed to get out of hand, stress becomes an enemy which can cause diseases like hypertension (high blood pressure), ulcers, rheumatoid arthritis, asthma or an overactive thyroid gland. Too much stress can also contribute heavily to heart disease and the weakening of other organs in the body.

Stress is not strictly physical. Emotional events are stressful too. Fear, or anxiety, is the usual sign that psychological stress has occurred. Other emotions can be involved too. When emotional upset is unusually severe or chronic, it may lead to mental breakdown. But just about any emotional upheaval can trigger the stress response and the physical effects that go with it.

Some stressors are obvious, like a fight, anticipated surgery or talking over serious personal problems. But exacting and over-routine work, college tests or even automobile driving can do it, too.

Many psychological stressors do little more than set off a mild reaction. Often it is so mild as to operate silently, entirely below the surface. Only when you think about it—perhaps not until later—do you realize that your heart was beating fast or that you were sweating. This is true of physi-

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DAVID G. DuBOIS: "THE WHITE LEFT HAS ABANDONED THE BLACK LEFT"

Mutual confidence, trust, respect and love are needed to rebuild the rift existing between the Black left and the White left in America, states David DuBois in the following conclusion of his series of articles on the White left's abandonment of the Black left. We urge our readers to express their opinions of Mr. DuBois' series in our Letters to the Editor column.

CONCLUSION

Repeated attempts by the left to pit the Black liberation struggle against or as contrary to, the class struggle in the U.S. are manifestations of a number of problems plaguing the U.S. left.

These include: an ignorance of the Black condition in America; a rigidity in the application of Marxism-Leninism to prevailing conditions in the U.S.; the White left's enormous distance from production line working-class struggle; the "petit bourgeois" character of its leadership, and consequent fear of militant engagement with forces of the power structure, and White racism.

The vast majority of the Black masses in the U.S. are wage laborers on the bottom rungs of the economic ladder, whether unemployed, in industry, on the land or in public or private service occupations. In other words, the vast majority of Black Americans are in or of the working class.

Because in the 1960's the left was not in the foundries and sweatshops, or on the fastest and most treacherous assembly lines or in the mines and fields of industry, and had largely abandoned the class-collaborationist-led trade unions, it was in no position to observe the enormous impact the civil rights movement had on Black workers in industry.

The most advanced, sharpest and potentially most generative confrontations during the 1960's took place in industry. Inspired by the scope and character of the civil rights efforts of Black students and youth in the South and enraged by the violent reaction to those efforts, Black workers in many industrial areas across the country were among the first to correctly opt for all-Black, left-leaning formations through which to intensify and carry forward the fight for their demands.

These demands reflect an awareness among Black workers of the urgent need to fight against their ultimate redundancy as technology and racism progressively and deliberately destroy their very means of survival.

It was in industry that the most extreme means were first used, including organized physical violence and murder, to undermine and prevent the emergence of all-Black formations.

The masters of industry correctly feared the threat to their continued dominance over the White working class that the example of militant organized formations of Black workers would represent. The left lacked this understanding.

The tailism of the left during the civil rights movement was brought about by its extremely tenuous grasp of the seething desperation among Black Americans and its separation from them, and was made inevitable by the advance position of influential Black militants and progressives.

But this tailism quickly turned into open obstructionism with the emergence of all-Black or predominantly Black formations. The White left was horrified and fearful of this emergence. Under cover of the Black-White unity slogans, it let loose its big guns against all such formations, claiming they were the work of the enemy and were doomed to lead Black workers into the folds of the power structure.

Most damaging, the White left forbade its Black leftists from participating or supporting such formations, and joined forces with the enemy to propagandize against and destroy them.

The White left's racism kept it blind to the fact that the emergence of all-Black formations was a direct result of its total inability to provide nonracist support and assistance, not to mention leadership, to a people in dramatic and determined motion.

No amount of persuasion or example could move the left on this question. One result was a massive disenchantment with and rejection of the left by those advanced Black working-class elements with the greatest potential and ability for leadership of the Black masses in unity with a militant White left.

At this stage of working-class consciousness in the U.S. Black workers in industry and as a group are the most advanced segment of the U.S. working class. Precisely because of their doubly exploited and oppressed status they see more clearly than White workers the burning need to change the structures of the institutions governing their relationship to their means of livelihood.

The 1970's saw repeated evidence of the leading role Black workers are playing, without their own formations, in industry and in the unions. It is Black workers who are raising the most politically sensitive issues for the U.S. working class today: the right to a job; the threat of automation; unsafe and dehumanizing conditions of work; upgrading and job security; democracy in the unions.

It is these issues—and not higher wages, shorter working hours and better retirement benefits—that are uppermost among the concerns of Black workers. It is these issues that emerge out of and have immediate impact upon the great issues before the whole U.S. people: preparation and spending for war versus preparation and spending for peace at home and in the world; technology in contention with humanity rather than technology in the service of humanity; emerging fascism rather than an ever expanding democracy.

Black workers, like the Black masses in general, know they cannot win their struggles through their efforts alone. They also know that the issues of most immediate concern to them in industry are far more fundamental for the entire U.S. working class and the country, than wages and hours.

The most advanced among them know that the White working class has been deliberately and skillfully blinded by the prospect of the ever fatter pay envelope and entry into the "good life"—American style.

Consequently, it follows that under militant left leadership, the struggle for the special demands of Black workers and their special efforts as Black workers must inevitably converge with the struggle for the general demands of White workers, providing a struggle-oriented basis for a Black-White working

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To Our Readers

THE BLACK PANTHER is your newspaper. In order to make our coverage as interesting and relevant to our readers as possible, we urge you to write in any suggestions you may have for articles or format. Address your comments to: Letters to the Editor, THE BLACK PANTHER, 7622 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, Calif. 94605.

Intercommunal News

500,000 WELCOME MUGABE HOME

BRITAIN BREAKS RHODESIAN CEASEFIRE, ATTACKS Z.A.N.U. FORCES

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - British officials and communiques from the White-controlled Rhodesian military have alleged numerous truce violations by the guerrilla forces of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in recent weeks.

White Rhodesian authorities have not acknowledged any truce violations of their own. If the British Commonwealth ceasefire monitors have caught any soldiers of the White minority regime breaking the ceasefire, they have not made them public.

There are no reported violations by the regime's police or army patrols because the Commonwealth ceasefire monitors are not allowed to accompany them when they go out searching for guerrillas, allegedly for truce violations.

Police reservists flying light civilian planes search for groups of Blacks in the countryside. Some of their planes are known as "disco shout-outs." They are equipped with loudspeakers and the pilot can shout down to groups of Blacks and command them to "stand fast and be prepared to surrender" when ground troops reach them.

The plan can radio for airborne commandos, known as the Fire Force, to attack the people on the ground. The Fire Force was one of the regime's most effective combat outfits during the war, reportedly noted for taking few prisoners.

British monitors are not allowed to accompany the Fire Force on their missions.

Robert Mugabe, the popular leader of ZANU's guerrilla forces who is confident of winning a landslide victory in the British-supervised elections at the end of February—if the balloting is conducted fairly—returned home in late January to a tumultuous reception attended by over 500,000 Blacks.

"We have slavishly observed the ceasefire, but we cannot allow our forces to remain in a position where they can be threatened" by the regime's army, Mugabe said upon his return.

The total reliance by Lord Soames, the British colonial governor during the three-month period before Rhodesia's independence, on White Rhodesian troops to keep law and order was not part of the London peace agreement.

Mugabe sharply criticized Soames for "not maintaining a balance" during his administration. The ZANU leader demanded that guerrilla forces be given equal status with the White Rhodesian forces.

Soames has the authority to call on the guerrillas to help enforce the ceasefire. So far, however, he has found it "impractical" to do so.

ZANU spokesperson Dr. Eddison Zvobogo recently accused the British of collusion with Black puppet leader Bishop Muzorewa, to improve his chances in the election.

British officials have had kind words to say about Joshua Nkomo's cooperation. The leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) has been publicly endorsed by the White racist former "prime minister,"

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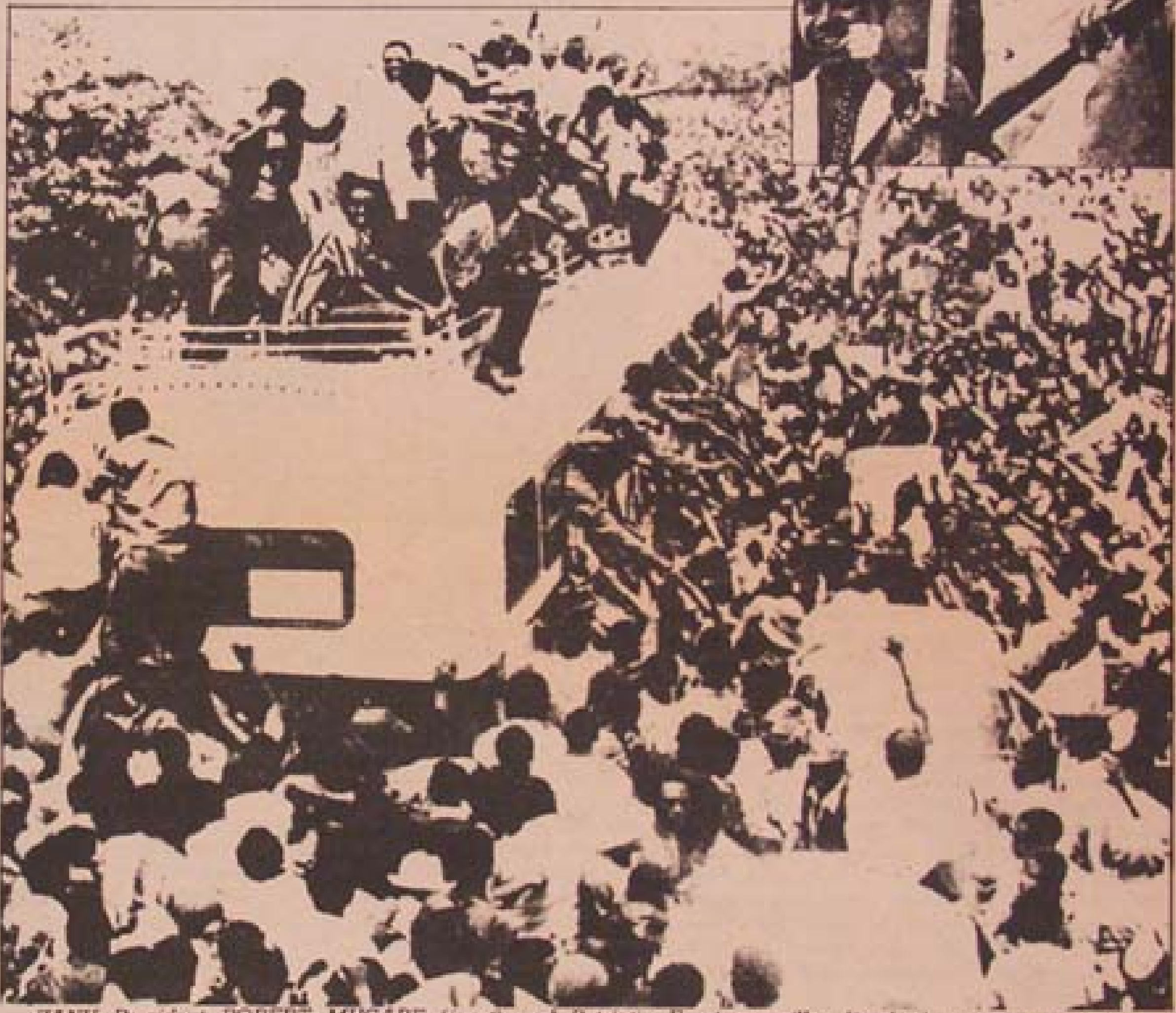

ZANU President ROBERT MUGABE (inset) and Patriotic Front guerrillas (in bus) were greeted by thousands of Zimbabweans upon their return to Salisbury following recent ceasefire agreement.

Jamaican Leader Target of C.I.A. Media Campaign

In its efforts to influence, and perhaps topple, the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica, the CIA has used proprietary wire services, agents, assets, a major international press organization, and stock propaganda themes.

These efforts have been on a hemisphere-wide basis, but are currently most evident in the local anti-Manley newspaper, the *Daily Gleaner*. The close partnership between the *Gleaner* and the Inter-American Press Association I (IAPA), described herein, is a case study of present-day CIA covert propaganda.

Indeed, the methodology employed is strikingly similar to the CIA's use of *El Mercurio* against Chilean President Salvador Allende.

In October, 1979, the *Daily Gleaner* received the Maria Moors Cabot citation in recognition of its services in defense of "press freedom in Latin America." Serving on the board which awards the Cabot citations is James B. Canel, general manager of the Miami-based IAPA.

Although the prize is administered by the Columbia University School of Journalism in New York City, the board is totally independent of the university, and is, reportedly, a creature of IAPA. Canel, in fact, is part of a select group which has been giving awards to each other for some time. In 1960, Canel himself received the Cabot award.

In 1972, Canel gave the IAPA "Freedom of the Press" award to Arturo Fontaine of *El Mercurio*. Simultaneously, the American Legion gave its "Freedom of the Press" award to *El Mercurio* owner, Agustin Edwards, a multimillionaire who owned vast resources in Chile. At the ceremony honoring Edwards were the past four IAPA presidents.

It was not until December,

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JONAS SAVIMBI

WILL U.S. REARM TRAITOR TO ANGOLAN REVOLUTION?

The failure of the joint CIA-South African military operation that attempted to thwart the Angolan people's struggle for liberation from Portuguese colonial rule was amply documented by former CIA Angola Task Force chief John Stockwell, in his book *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*, says *CovertAction*.

The CIA and South Africa pinned their hopes on two so-called "liberation movements," the Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi, and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), led by Holden Roberto, to destroy the people's genuine liberation organization that had fought the Portuguese uninterruptedly since 1960, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Both UNITA and FNLA were proven to have been supported by the U.S. and South Africa as well as, in UNITA's case, by the Portuguese military.

It was in this context that Jonas Savimbi, the 44-year-old UNITA leader, arrived in New York last November 3 for a week-long visit to this country, his first since 1961. The decision to come here was, according to *Newsweek*, not even made by Savimbi, though it is not stated who did make the decision.

The trip was sponsored by Freedom House in New York, on whose board White House national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski sits (he is now listed "on leave"), and which claims to be "a non-partisan, national organization devoted to the strengthening of free societies."

Savimbi spoke at Freedom House, to an audience packed with Cuban exiles. The co-sponsor was Social Democrats, USA.

Although Savimbi said publicly he had not come to the U.S. seeking military or economic aid, but simply wanting "understanding," *Newsweek*'s headline, "Savimbi Asks For Help," was more candid, as was his statement: "You should help your friends help themselves."

Savimbi's travels with three different non-Angolan passports including, he said, one issued by "an independent country," yet this irregularity somehow was no problem when he arrived at the immigration counter at the airport in New York.

Although he was not an official state visitor, the U.S. government treated him like one. While in Washington, he and his party were, for the length of their three-day capital canvass provided with two long, sleek black Cadillac limousines from the White House fleet.

Despite not being registered with the Justice Department as an agent working for a foreign entity, one person, above all others, has lobbied most for Savimbi's cause. Both at the time of the huge CIA-South African thrust into Angola in 1974-76 and recently, in particular since the death of MPLA President Agostinho Neto in September, Savimbi has had the ardent backing of Henry Kissinger.

Their meeting together in New York on November 5 was "very fruitful" and the former secretary of state was "extremely sympathetic and brotherly to our leader," a Savimbi aide said.

According to a photocopy of Savimbi's schedule, he was slated to meet with other sympathetic people and groups as well. These included ex-energy head and former CIA chief James Schlesinger, Senators Sam Nunn of Georgia, Henry Jackson of Washington, and House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill of Massachusetts, all reportedly anxious to facilitate help for Savimbi and UNITA.

Savimbi was feted as a dinner guest at the home of new AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, and also met at the AFL-CIO's downtown headquarters with Kirkland and a select group from their International Affairs Department—the CIA's wellworn channel for its global labor operations—including head of the African-American Labor Center, ex-Marine Patrick O'Farrell.

Savimbi was also slated to meet with Jerry Funk, former staff member of the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers, which shut down several years ago after it was exposed as being CIA-backed.

For a man who has solicited and received aid from countries as different as the U.S., Portugal, France, North Korea, the People's Republic of China, Zaire and South Africa, it was intriguing to see the flattery that awaited Savimbi as he stepped to the lectern to address a crowded conference room at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, where Kissinger happens to have an office and where Schlesinger and other "retirees" from the national se-

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ARMED STRUGGLE BEGINS IN S. AFRICA

(Pretoria, South Africa) - "South Africans can expect a steady escalation in urban guerrilla attacks of all kinds," said a spokesperson for the African National Congress (ANC) following an ANC attack on a bank in a White suburb near here in late January.

Three ANC guerrillas held some 24 Whites hostage for six hours in the Volkskas Bank in the well-to-do suburb of Silverton on January 25. South African police stormed the bank, killing the guerrillas and two of the hostages.

Government officials said the ANC members demanded the release of Black political prisoners held in South African jails, including imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The ANC spokesperson, who is based in Lusaka, Zambia, said the bank siege was the start of the armed struggle against the White apartheid government of South Africa.

A teller at the bank told reporters that the guerrillas said "they were fighting for equal rights."

U.N. HOLDS TALKS ON NAMIBIA

(United Nations, N.Y.) - With the agreement of the U.N. Security Council, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim decided recently to proceed with technical discussions relating to the establishment of a demilitarized zone on Namibia's frontiers. To facilitate the discussions, Waldheim appointed Lt. General Prem Chand of India as commander-designate of the military component of the U.N.'s transitional operation provided for in the world organization's independence plan for Namibia. The general, who has had extensive experience with U.N. peace-keeping operations, arrived in New York last month for consultations with Under-Secretary-General Brian Urquhart and with the secretary-general's special representative for Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari. Chand was then scheduled to proceed with his U.N. team to Angola, Zambia, Namibia and South Africa.

U.S. AIDS TUNISIA AGAINST LIBYA

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. government has increased delivery of military equipment to Tunisia in the wake of Tunisian charges that guerrillas who attacked the mining center of Gafsa in late January were trained and armed in Libya. The official news agency of Tunisia said that the heavily armed guerrillas crossed into the country from the Algerian border on January 27, attacked the police station and seized the army barracks in Gafsa before Tunisian troops intervened. It was reported that civilians were taken hostage and that there were many dead and wounded on both sides. On January 30, Tunisia expelled the Libyan ambassador and recalled its own ambassador from the Libyan capital. Pentagon sources said the U.S. had sent ammunition, communications gear and spare parts to Tunisia and that the government had asked for helicopters and armored personnel carriers.

SOMALIA HOLDS ELECTIONS

(Somalia) - Somalian voters have overwhelmingly approved a new government in the country's first parliamentary and local election in a decade. Candidates of the ruling Somalia Revolutionary Party (SRSP) received the majority of the votes cast, winning 171 People's Assembly seats and 1,074 District Assembly seats. Under the country's new constitution, approved in a referendum last August, the Assembly was to meet within a month of the election. The exact role of the new parliament has not yet been outlined. The constitution provides that power rests in the hands of the central committee of the SRSP, whose 69 members were among the candidates nominated in the election.

S. AFRICAN SPY EXPOSED

(Johannesburg, South Africa) South Africa's minister of police has admitted that the deputy director of an international aid organization helping Blacks in southern Africa was actually a South African spy. Minister of Police Louis le Grange thanked the spy — Craig Williamson, 31, a security police captain — for providing "valuable information" regarding alleged anti-South African activities by the International University Exchange Fund in Geneva. The aid group, funded by Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Canada, grants scholarships to Black Africans and has close contact with anti-apartheid groups in South Africa.

POOR PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR UNITE; GOVT. TROOPS, GUERRILLAS BATTLE

Massacred victims of the Romero regime in El Salvador.

(San Salvador, El Salvador) - A national coordinating committee for unity of the country's revolutionary and progressive organizations was attended by several thousand people here last month.

The main groups composing the committee are the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the United Front for People's Action (FAPU), the February 28 People's Leagues and the Nationalist Democratic Union, which is supported by the communist party of El Salvador.

On January 9, a new civilian-military government came to power in this Central American country. The new government pledged to institute economic and social programs, including nationalization of private banks, state takeover of foreign trade and the expropriation of large farms to provide land for the country's poor peasants.

The country has been sharply divided politically since the army blocked the victory of a progressive Christian Democrat candidate, Jose Napoleon Duarte, in the 1972 presidential elections. Soon afterwards, revolutionary and progressive groups formed for the first time, followed in 1975 by the first grassroots coalition of peasants, the BPR, which today has a membership of some 70,000.

In response to the growth of the left, the government of General Carlos Humberto Romero severely repressed peasant and workers' organizations, including a series of massacres of nonviolent demonstrators last year.

On October 15, 1979, young army officers, apparently seeking to avoid a civil war, overthrew Romero and installed a five-member ruling body, made up of two colonels, two leftist civilians and a representative of the business sector. The cabinet was also broad-based.

But the new government was immediately involved in problems. Conservative army officers slowly took control of the armed forces from the progressive lieutenants and captains who had carried out Romero's overthrow, and civilian ruling body members and cabinet members argued frequently.

Shortly after Christmas, following a huge right-wing demonstration, leftist cabinet ministers demanded the removal of the conservative defense minister and of the private sector's representative in the government. When the armed forces refused, all the civilians in the ruling body and the cabinet resigned.

The armed forces then invited the Christian Democrats, who had played only a small role in the government, to form a new administration. On January 9 two Christian Democrats and a liberal doctor joined the two army officers who had belonged to the original ruling body.

In late January, violence broke out in the country. In one incident, government troops ambushed a group of armed guerrillas and killed at least 19 of them. Dozens of civilians were wounded along a busy highway as a result of the predawn shootout.

One Christian Democrat leader said that the country is bankrupt and that unless it receives at least $300 million of emergency aid from abroad, "we won't be able to finance the planting of the crops in April. And if that happens, there will be such hunger here that the country will be ungovernable."

World Scope

Ceasefire

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

Ian Smith.

On the other hand, Soames has launched an increasingly vicious attack against Mugabe and ZANU, whose forces did most of the fighting during the 14-year guerrilla war.

The United Nations Security Council in early February unanimously adopted a resolution calling on Britain to be impartial in Rhodesia. During the debate, African countries charged Britain with mismanaging the ceasefire.

African countries proposed the resolution to protest what they said were unfair moves by Soames, particularly his decision to allow South African troops to maintain their position at the Rhodesian end of the Beit Bridge, a key rail and highway link between the two countries.

The African and international outcry forced Soames to order the South African troops out of Rhodesia the day the debate opened.

The withdrawal from Beit Bridge, however, did not affect several thousand South Africans serving under Rhodesian commanders elsewhere in the country.

Many delegates also criticized Soames' January 18 decision to extend for an additional six months the state of emergency that has prevailed in Rhodesia since 1965. The martial law provisions include so-called preventive detention, censorship and military trials of civilians.

The first draft of the U.N. resolution called for revocation of the emergency decree, but as adopted it demanded "the rescinding of all emergency measures and regulations inconsistent with the conduct of free and fair elections."

Meanwhile, British intelligence agents bugged the telephones and hotel rooms of Mugabe and Nkomo during the recent London peace conference which led to the current British supervised ceasefire arrangement and upcoming elections, Britain's *Sunday Times* reported in early February.

Mugabe has charged that Black auxiliary forces loyal to Muzorewa, as they did during the bogus elections in April, 1979, are terrorizing people in the countryside in an effort to get them to vote again for the former "prime minister."

"The bishop is a coward, afraid of the elections because he is going to lose," Mugabe said.

ZANU's party manifesto was confiscated by customs officers even though the election agreement gives all campaign rights □

Jamaican Leader Target of C.I.A. Campaign

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

1975, that the Senate Select Committee report, "Covert Action in Chile: 1964-1974."

In February, 1979, with the use of classified documents, *Inquiry* magazine revealed that both Fontaine and Edwards were CIA agents. In fact, Edwards is known to have been a CIA agent since 1958, running other agents, laundering CIA money, and the like.

Edwards, a long-time crony of Nixon, and whose cousin is married to David Rockefeller, is at present well placed as the vice-president of Pepsi-Cola's international division. Edwards was president of IAPA in 1969, and both he and another CIA operative from *El Mercurio*, Rene Silva Espejo, are still on the IAPA board.

In 1968, Edwards had been chairman of IAPA's Freedom of the Press Committee, which during the past decade has given its awards to the wire services discussed below.

The major CIA-connected wire services reaching Latin America and the Caribbean are Agencia Orbe Latino-americano, Copley News Service, Forum World Features, and LATIN. The *Daily Gleaner* has subscribed to, and run stories from, both English-language services.

In addition, sincethe exposures of many of the services, the *Gleaner* has taken to running wire service articles, often datelined Washington, with no source attribution at all.

The IAPA, with its own wire service reaching some 1,000 newspapers, is the hub of the entire Latin American media operation. Its past presidents and board members read almost like a roster of key CIA agents in the Latin American media.

The late James S. Copley, founder of Copley News Service, whose CIA ties date back to before 1953, was president of IAPA in 1970. Two other CIA agents still at Copley are current IAPA board members. Agustin Edwards was president of IAPA in 1969, as noted, and Neto was president in 1972. One of Edwards' CIA operatives from *El Mercurio* is also on the present IAPA board.

IAPA, in short, is the intersection of the CIA's propaganda operations in Latin America.

In the Senate report discussed earlier it states that, as part of its war against Allende, the CIA used covert resources to orchestrate a media protest □

Huey Appeals

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

therefore, had the legal right to possess weapons in his home to protect himself against the numerous threats made against him, his wife and two children.

Steel went on to say that in 1972, Huey went to Vacaville Medical Facility to visit former BPP member David Hilliard. At first, prison authorities refused to allow the visit on the grounds that Huey was an ex-felon. However, following the prison's review of Cook's decision, Huey was allowed to visit Hilliard.

In 1972, Garry represented Huey in a case involving a gun. The district attorney's office did not raise the issue of Huey being an ex-felon—an indication that Cook's ruling had been accepted.

Shortly before the Callins' trial began on August 21, 1978, Superior Court Judge Martin Pulich, acting on a motion from Deputy District Attorney Thomas Orloff, overturned Cook's ruling and declared Huey was an ex-felon.

At the appeal hearing last month, the state attorney general's office argued that Cook's ruling only applied to the particular case the judge was trying. The state lawyer further claimed that it was Huey's responsibility to go through legal procedures to determine if he were an ex-felon.

Comments by the judges (whose decision on the appeal overturning the San Quentin 6 conviction of Party member Johnny Spain is still pending), indicated they were convinced Steel's arguments. Judge James Scott said that it was improper for Pulich to overturn Cook's ruling and that the district attorney's office should have appealed Cook's ruling in 1971 if it disagreed with the decision.

The decision on Huey's appeal is not expected for several months.☐

Facing The '80's

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Despite what Lou Harris or George Gallup opinion polls may say, the lives of the majority of Black and poor people in America did *not* improve during the '70's. If unemployment and wage statistics do not convince you of this truth, read the story opposite this column (on page 2). White racists are killing Black people in cold blood for sport today just as they lynched us for sport 100 years (and less) ago.

As David DuBois states, we cannot achieve the unity that is needed to correct the serious problems we face in American society by simply wishing the unity into existence. We must work at it. One of the primary things we must do is to be on guard against those issues—such as war—that tend to divide us. We must realize that the people who control American maintain their control by keeping us divided.

Unity in the '80's!☐

The American people must put aside their differences in order to solve the problems facing the country.

BP.P. To Appeal Dismissal of Lawsuit

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Seberg, well-known movie actress by (name deleted), Black Panther Party. . .It is felt that the possible publication of Seberg's plight could cause her embarrassment and serve to cheapen her image with the general public."

The rumor was printed in a gossip column in a news magazine. Seberg became distraught over the story and prematurely delivered the child—a White girl who was stillborn.

Each anniversary of the child's death, Seberg tried to kill herself, finally succeeding in 1979.

Seberg was the subject of FBI investigation from 1969 through 1972. The Bureau monitored her bank transactions, spied on her travels and distributed logs of her telephone conversations with Party members.

Southern California BPP leaders ALPRENTICE "Bunchy" CARTER (left) and JOHN HUGGINS were among the first Party members to be killed by agents working in cooperation with the FBI. The two BPP members were assassinated on January 17, 1969, by members of the US organization during a meeting at the University of California, Los Angeles, campus. In 1978, a Black former FBI provocateur stated in a sworn affidavit that the killers of Bunchy and John, US members George and Larry Stiner, were FBI provocateurs.

The Bureau transferred reports on Seberg to Nixon officials, including John Ehrlichman, John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst. The FBI also transferred the results of its investigation of Seberg to the CIA, the Secret Service, and U.S. embassies in Paris and Rome.

The kind of morale-breaking tactics used against Seberg by the FBI were extensively used against Party members to cause dissension within the organization. In 1968, the Bureau sent an anonymous letter to the wife of a Party leader stating that her husband had been having affairs with several teenage girls and had taken some of them with him on trips.

Another COINTELPRO action against the BPP involved FBI efforts to persuade landlords to force Party members and offices from their buildings. In 1969, the San Francisco FBI office sent an article from THE BLACK PANTHER to the landlord of a Party member who had rented an apartment under an assumed name.

The article, which was written by that member and contained her picture and true name, was accompanied by an anonymous note stating, "(false name) is your tenant (true name)."

Thousands of dollars are needed to pay the legal costs of appealing the Party's lawsuit. Anyone wishing to contribute should make their check or money order payable to the Clarence Darrow Foundation, and send it to the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, 7622 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, Ca. 94605.☐

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White Left

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

class unity that will be invincible.

Such a condition cannot come about by wishing it into existence or merely theorizing about it. The White left must rid itself of its fear and resentment (both motivated by racism) toward all or predominantly Black formations. It must free its own Black left to play the leading role in creating and building such formations.

It must give them every aid and assistance they desire. But, it must vigilantly guard against making the aid and assistance dependent upon what it believes the Black left and the formations should be doing.

It is here that the White left has failed so miserably, and, Black leftists, discouraged from years of fruitless effort to function unhampered as Blacks among Blacks, have either given up or given in.

An awkward self-righteousness, arrogance of spirit and paternalism are the curses of this country's traditional left. When exhibited towards Blacks, inside or outside the left, the curses become racism in its most devastatingly subtle form.

There is only one guarantee that all-Black or predominantly Black formations from the outset possess and throughout their existence maintain a clear perspective of their role as temporary formations with limited scope and limited objectives, the most important of which is laying down a foundation upon which Black-White unity can take form in struggle and grow in struggle.

This guarantee lies in the ability of the White left, in comradely union with the Black left, to develop ways and means of realizing mutual exchange, developing mutual confidence and trust and building mutual respect and love.

At this stage the objectives can only begin to be realized through parallel efforts of day-to-day struggle, with the White left accepting that it has more to learn from the Black left than the Black left has to learn from it.□

How To Cope With Stress

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

cal stresses, too.

Even in situations that seem entirely physical, the emotions play a part too. Pain, for example, is not only a physical reaction. It has tremendous psychological meanings which depend on the person and how he interprets the cause of the pain and its consequences.

The expectation of any stressful event can be every bit as powerful a stressor as the event itself. Anything which happens for the first time, or which you cannot make sense out of, triggers stress.

Inside, you experience a silent startle. Usually, you quickly figure out what has happened, or at least recognize that it is not dangerous. Then the reaction shuts off right away. There are brain mechanisms for flipping this "off switch" so that the stress reaction can stop before it has barely begun.

If you decide there is real danger, the reaction proceeds: full-blown stress develops.

Even if you can't fully understand a situation, usually you can figure out some constructive ways to handle it. This, too, is enough to shut off the stress reaction.

But continuing uncertainty and doubt are like a smoldering fuse. A subdued chronic state of stress goes on and on just under the surface. And that can lead to serious consequences for physical, no less than mental health.

Most of us have learned a variety of skills for handling social situations, the demands of our jobs, the illness or death of loved ones, economic pressures, physical disabilities and other problems. We learn how to blow off steam in recreation. We lose ourselves in work to forget other troubles.

If the going gets rougher, these methods may not work quite so well. We begin to worry that the situation is becoming "dangerous." This triggers the stress response which continues until the problem disappears or we find a way to master it.

None of us is invulnerable. We all have emotional difficulties. One person may be sensitive to things people say about him. Another may feel sickened by rivalry with a competitor. Another may find disorder and disorganization upsetting. Then stress is triggered.

For early man in a world of physical dangers, the stress response was very useful. For modern man, it is much less so. Many of the dangers we face are strictly mental.

Some situations in life are depressing. Others may make us scared, embarrassed or angry. Even in the same situation, some people will get one feeling, others another. And each feeling has its own special physical features.

Psychological stress develops because of unusual life pressures and our individual sensitivities. We react with a particular emotion. That emotional state affects certain body organs more than others. If the organ is a vulnerable one and the stress goes on and on, eventually it will break down. Then we may develop a disease in that organ, such as a stomach ulcer.

There are many ways we can protect ourselves from the harmful effects of stress and diseases that can result from it. By seeing a doctor when we get sick, we can prevent extra damage to the body part involved. This helps reduce the vulnerability of that part to stress.

We can also do a great deal to raise our general physical resistance. This is what is meant by being "fit" or in good condition. By exercising, by getting enough rest and by eating *healthy* foods, we improve our overall strength and general resistance. We improve our ability to handle any stressful situations that come along.

It is said that the Chinese word for crisis is written by combining the symbols for the words danger and opportunity. Stress is just that: a danger and an opportunity; a friend an enemy. In order to survive as human beings, we must learn how to cope with stress and use it to our advantage.

(This article was excerpted from the pamphlet Stress, *published by the Blue Cross Association.*□)

"One Less Nigger"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

McCarter, Noor and Shope then drove off to a friend's house where they bragged and joked about their night's activities. As they left the friend's house, Shope said, "Now it's my turn," but the trio had had too much to drink and were too tired to do anything else.

They were arrested within 20 hours of the murder "because they couldn't keep their mouths shut," said Chico police chief U.F. Bullerjahn.

SECRECY

A tight lid of secrecy was immediately imposed on the case. Butte County Superior Court Judge Jean Morony issued a gag order barring attorneys and investigators from discussing the killing publicly. Records of testimony at the preliminary hearing were kept locked in a safe at the county courthouse outside Oroville.

Mrs. Francis Brass, Campbell's mother, first learned that her son's murder was racially motivated when local newspapers reported that McCarter and Noor had pleaded guilty to first-degree murder on January 30, 1980, following a year-long negotiated settlement with District Attorney Will Mattly.

Mrs. Brass said last summer Mattly told her he would seek the death penalty against McCarter and Noor. "He sold my son and me out," she said of Mattly.

Mattly claimed it would have been difficult for him to obtain a death penalty verdict against McCarter and Noor because of their youth and the fact that they were drunk at the time of Campbell's killing.

The two were originally charged with murder with special circumstances, in this case, a racially motivated killing. In California, murder with special circumstances is grounds for the death penalty.

McCarter and Noor will be sentenced on February 27. They face prison terms of 25 years to life. On Novemer 8, 1979, Shope pleaded guilty to second degree murder and has begun serving a 15-year-to-life prison term at California Institute for Women in Frontera.

The Black community here of 500 people has denounced the plea bargaining that saved McCarter and Noor from possible execution.

"If they were Blacks, they would have gotten the death penalty," said one Black man.□

Treasury Secretary, Congressmen In Scandal

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

any foreign government official discussed in the SEC complaint was $500,000, which the agency said ended up in the hands of a former Iranian Air Force commander, the late General Mohammad Khatami, a brother-in-law of the now-deposed shah. The payment was made in 1973 to help secure a major contract to sell helicopters to the Iranian government, SEC said.

The chairman of the House Ethics Committee said that for months his panel has been investigating charges of misconduct against some members of Congress who have been implicated in that bribery scheme that was exposed during the FBI undercover probe.

Congressman Charles Bennett of Florida said he has asked the Justice Department to turn over to the Ethics Committee information about the congressmen who were probed by the FBI.

Official sources revealed that one senator and seven House members were among subjects in an FBI operation in which agents posed as wealthy businessmen willing to pay bribes to congressmen who sought them. The sources said agents had paid out nearly $700,000 during meetings that were taped or filmed with hidden cameras.

Those who have been probed by the FBI, in addition to Jenrette, reportedly include: Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey, and Representatives John Murphy of New York; Frank Thompson of New Jersey; Michael Myers and Raymond Lederer, both of Pennsylvania; Richard Kelly of Florida; and John Murtha of Pennsylvania, a member of the Ethics Committee.□

F.B.I. Harassment of Black Americans: 1910-1980

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

ing the vast resources of the FBI in the pursuit of private vice.

However, the Bureau had found time during the First World War to probe the views of Black Americans. The Bureau conducted what it termed a "nationwide investigation" of Blacks.

Also, the General Intelligence Division (created in 1919 with the then 24-year-old Hoover as its chief) of the Bureau made several surveys of its own. The Bureau's interest in Black people had come about because of the increasing militancy of Black workers and the Black press.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was considered a dangerous radical subversive by the Bureau because of its open vocal opposition to the establishment and its willingness to resort to extra-legal means to improve intolerable working conditions.

Large numbers of Blacks were attracted to the IWW because its constitution provided that "no working man or woman shall be excluded from membership in unions because of creed or color." No other labor union offered that same promise.

MARCUS GARVEY (center) being taken to jail.

Moreover, R.T. Simms, a Black man, became a national organizer for the IWW, serving the organization until 1919. During the two decades of its existence, the IWW issued about 100,000 membership cards to Black Americans, the main result of which was to intensify the awareness of the Black working class, and thereby bring it under the scrutiny of the Bureau and its most effective arm, the General Intelligence Division (GID).

But it was the Black press that became a thorn in the side of the then gunless and all White Bureau. Several Black publications pointed out the hypocrisy of fighting to make the world safe for democracy only to return home and run the risk of being lynched.

One of the loudest opponents of Black participation in World War I was the *Messenger*, published in New York City by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen. In Hoover's mind, this kind of dissent was un-American and smacked of radicalism, and worse yet, even communism.

According to a GID report, radicalism had taken hold of the post World War I Black press. "The number of restrained and conservative publications is relatively negligible, and even some of these. . .have indulged in most intemperate utterance."

The most arrogant periodical, in the GID's opinion, was the *Messenger*. The *Messenger* "... is by long odds the most able and the most dangerous of all the Negro publications. It is representative of the most educated thought among the Negroes."

The GID submitted its first collection of articles taken from the Black press for Congressional inspection with the title "Radicalism and Sedition among the Negroes as Reflected in Their Publications." Samples were taken from many papers, including the *Messenger*, the *Voice*, the *Crusader*, the *Challenge*, the *Emancipator* and Marcus Garvey's *Negro World* and the *Negro Times*.

The Bureau also went after Marcus Garvey. With his talk of African-American pride and self-determination, Garvey was also considered a radical.

In August, 1921, Bureau officials suggested to the U.S. Shipping Board that they reconsider their decision to sell Marcus Garvey a ship. In 1922, FBI agents raided the New Orleans branch of Garvey's organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

A short time later, FBI agents arrested 10 local UNIA officials and claimed to have uncovered "evidence of a nationwide anarchistic plot."

In New York City, Garvey denied the allegation that his organization was either radical or anarchistic.

TO BE CONTINUED

Citizen's Peace Force

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

the tensions of the Cold War — thus expanding their markets. Observers worry that the fledgling crime protection industry may follow a similar line, with huge profits made in this industry supporting a new domestic lobby for more weaponized solutions to the anger of the ghetto, the barrio and the poor white hollow.

After the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, defense stocks soared. Giant conglomerates like the Bangor Punta consortium now compete with vigor, to say the least, for the ballooning domestic defense budget. The federal government alone is now spending more than one billion dollars a year through its Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) program.

The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1968 set up as its operative agency the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

LEAA gives grants in aid to the various states for experimental projects. LEAA was the liberal establishment's attempt to modernize police techniques as a substitute for "shoot to kill" repression.

Under the looming shadow of Watts, a group of White, wealthy men sat down to play domestic counter-insurgency. This was 1965. LEAA was begun by liberals.

The budget then was merely $63 million; now it has multiplied 25 times to $1.5 billion and it is going up. The police get some 85 per cent of the budget, the jails get 8 per cent, the courts 6 per cent. The budget increases are cheered by liberal as well as conservative congressmen. Representative James Scheuer (D.-N.Y.) is an example:

"As a result of spin-offs from medical, military, aerospace and industrial research, we are now in the process of developing devices and products capable of controlling violent individuals and entire mobs without injury. We can tranquilize, impede, immobilize, harass, shock, upset, stupefy, nauseate, chill, temporarily blind, deafen, or just plain scare the wits out of anyone the police have a proper need to control or restrain."

It is crucial to this argument to realize that the "crime" that liberals and conservatives alike are zeroing in on is petty, social, impulsive. Large, organized syndicated crime is nowhere mentioned. Syndicated crime reaches into the City Hall, the State House, the Pentagon and the White House! It does not exist, says the F.B.I., but from Texas to New York the power flows.

The rhetoric, both liberal and academic, is reminiscent of that surrounding the new military-industrial complex in the 1950's and its brave, new "think-tanks."

Speaking to a Congressional committee, Quinn Tamm, executive director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, called for "interdisciplinary teams of mathematicians, computer scientists, electronic engineers, physicists, biologists and other natural scientists and psychologists, sociologists, economists and lawyers..." to work on raising the level of police technology.

In another speech, this time to the executives of Western Electric, Tamm asked for their help on technology. "You gentlemen probably know better than I," Tamm said, "that industry spends huge sums on research and development. Unfortunately, an almost negligible portion of this is directed towards law enforcement because the market is so small and what little there is is greatly fragmented. Without a profitable market, industry logically has little interest in devoting any major portion of its research resources to police needs."

Since Tamm spoke last year, the police-industrial complex has pushed a lot of money into research and development, confident — as a result of the Safe Streets Act — that a profitable market is waiting to be tapped.

TO BE CONTINUED

Traitor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

curity establishment sit as board and staff members or as advisors.

After giving his presentation, entitled "The Strategic Role of Angola in the Subcontinent," it became apparent that he really was talking about the strategic role of UNITA. He spoke rhetorically about "the interests" and the "best interests" of the U.S., suggesting that UNITA should be seen by his audience in the latter category.

In trying to illustrate this line, he admitted that Mobutu Sese Seko, the president of Zaire (who has aided UNITA considerably), is corrupt, but asked: "Is it in the best interests of the U.S. to pay attention to this?"

Despite his statement, "We do not want war," he was more honest as he spoke repeatedly of "my war."

One identifying himself as a South African said: "In the Kunene region of southern Angola, you are supported by South Africa. South Africa is bombing Angolans every day." To the surprise of many, Savimbi admitted: "Yes."

Later in his talk he contradicted himself again, saying he is not now receiving aid from South Africa. The UNITA boss even bragged in his talk about selling diamonds to South Africa for money to buy arms in various countries.

Another questioner asked bluntly: "Are you in the CIA's pocket?"

Savimbi chuckled nonchalantly and, after a thoughtful pause, said: "Really, I'm amazed of course. (In 1975) I addressed myself to the American administration, then I asked for help. If they give it to me through a channel, that's a domestic problem."

The Black Panther

PUBLISHED [illegible] BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, [illegible] MacARTHUR BLVD. OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA [illegible] TELEPHONE [illegible]

YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES [illegible]

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

The BLACK PANTHER
BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
VOLUME 1 APRIL 25, 1967 NUMBER 1
WHY WAS DENZIL DOWELL KILLED
APRIL FIRST 3:50 A.M.
"I BELIEVE THE POLICE MURDERED MY SON" SAYS THE MOTHER OF DENZIL DOWELL.
WE BLACK PEOPLE ARE MEETING SATURDAY 1:30 AT 1717 SECOND STREET LET US SUPPORT THE DOWELL FAMILY EVERY BLACK BROTHER AND SISTER MUST UNITE FOR REAL POLITICAL ACTION

12th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BLACK PANTHER

On Saturday, January 26, the Black Panther Party combined the celebration of the 12th anniversary of its newspaper, THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service, with open house at its new office located at 7622 MacArthur Boulevard (left photo, above). Party President HUEY P. NEWTON talked with guests Alameda County Supervisor JOHN GEORGE and Oakland City Councilman WILSON RILES, JR. (right photo, above). All 519 issues of the newspaper published over the last 12 years were on display (far left). The first issue of the newspaper (center), published April 25, 1967, protested the killing of Denzil Dowell by police in Richmond, California. Photos of the 28 BPP members assassinated by police and federal agencies since 1968 are prominently displayed in the new office (bottom photo, left). KIMBERLY ROBLES and MAI HUGGINS enjoyed going through past issues of the newspaper (bottom photo, right).